2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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together with the house in which the twins were born, which is dismantled and hastily rebuilt there. The couple and the twins are condemned to live in exile for forty-two days, guarded by a

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783

[516]

number of watchmen, who remain with them until the period of banishment is over, when the house is ceremonially burned to the ground before they all return to the village to perform the

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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placed the offering *tetagpulú*, two truncated cones wrapped, one in black, the other in red thread, each topped by a fan of palm-leaf. They sat on the bed, the boy cross-legged, the girl kneeling, and made reverences (*sembah*), bringing their joined hands three times to their foreheads, each time holding between their middle fingers little *sampian*, fans of palm decorated with flowers. Next the food they had cooked together was brought to them on silver platters, and, with their necks joined by a Tenganan scarf with the warp left uncut, they had to feed each other some rice and twí. Their movements were hampered by the scarf and they were shy and clumsy. The guests thought this extremely funny and laughed heartily, making the couple turn red with embarrassment. They gave each other water to drink from a *kendih*, but the crucial test was the mutual chewing of *sirih* betel-nut, to which they were not accustomed. The boy chewed the *sirih* reluctantly, making wry faces, handing some already chewed to his bride. This concluded the first half of the ceremony, until the afternoon, when the priest would come to perform their ritual purification.

I was told that among the common people the girl walks three times around the offerings (*pangulapan*) holding the *tetagpulú* in her arms, while two of the boy's relatives hold a string across her path. She walks on until the string breaks (*benang tebusan*). Later the couple walks again three times around a small *dadap* tree specially planted for the occasion, the girl with a platter of rice on her head, the boy carrying on his shoulder a pole loaded with good stuff such as coconuts, a chicken, and a duck. Then they sit side by side behind the priest or witch-doctor (*balian*) and pray while he dedicates the offerings. They also take a meal in public – an act which appears to have a special significance, since only a married couple would ever be seen together eating in public.

The blessing by the priest to purify the couple that we witnessed, at the wedding of a prominent prince of Gianyar, was exceptionally elaborate. Three great sheds had been specially

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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533 either approves or rejects the proposal, and there are no outbursts of artistic temperament.

The Balinese do not write down their music. I asked if it was not difficult to memorize such long and intricate compositions and was told that "when the piece has been rehearsed long

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[826] enough, so that it has once entered into a man's liver, he plays it without thinking."

538 628 Often the group was visited by the leaders of famous orchestras from other villages who were invited as guests of the community to teach new compositions. The leaders of the gong Ringdikit from North Bali came to Belaluan to exchange pieces: while [184] they taught the dynamic and revolutionary style of the North, they learned the classical pieces of the South. The musicians of Belaluan, on the other hand, went to other villages to break in new organizations and were always lavishly entertained. Once in [545] our village we witnessed a contest between two famous gongs;

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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there are other instruments, such as the bamboo flute (*suling*) and the two-string violin (*rebab*), which are used mainly as a lead for the melody. The flute is often a solo instrument. They do not form an essential part of the orchestra. 534

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Flute-Player

The gong *kebiyar*, to which the orchestra of Belaluan belongs, is the large modern "concert" orchestra *par excellence*, where the art of ensemble playing, the colourful orchestration, and the vitality of the music show to best advantage. Music played by the *kebiyar* consists for the most part of new compositions based on older pieces, in free variation. The style of the South is more conservative and delicate than that of the North, which is loud, syncopated, and with revolutionary tendencies. Among the most famous gongs, during my stay in Bali, were the gong pangkung from Tabanan, those of Belaluan, Peliatan, and Selat in the North. The *kebiyar* is obviously a modern form of the gong gedé, the old-fashioned grand orchestra indispensable to temple feasts, where they 533

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The priest has first to purify himself thoroughly by reciting cleansing *mantras* for each action of his morning toilet. He washes his hair, rinses his mouth, polishes his teeth, and rinses his mouth again; washes his face, bathes, rubs his hair with oil, combs it, and then dresses. For each move he has to recite a short *mantra*, one for each garment he wears.

Meantime on a high platform his wife has arranged his paraphernalia (*upakara*): trays with flowers (night-blooming flowers if the ceremony is to take place at night), gold or silver vessels containing grains of rice and sandalwood powder, his holy-water container (*siwamba*) with a silver sprinkler (*sesirat*) and a long-handled ladle, (*tjanting*), his prayer bell (*gantha*), an incense-burner (*pasepan*), and a bronze oil lamp (*pedamaran*). Put away in baskets at one side of where the priest will sit are the attributes of Siwa he will wear during the ceremony: the *bawa*, a bell-shaped mitre of red felt with applications of beaten gold and topped by a crystal ball, the "shimmer of the sun" (*surya-kanta*), and a number of strings of *genitri* seeds (ear-rings, bracelets, neck and breast beads) ornamented with pieces of gold set with *linggas* of crystal, phallic symbols.[8]

Once seated cross-legged among the *upakara*, the priest proceeds to purify his person; he lays a prayer cloth over his lap and with his hands on his knees he mumbles a formula and asks of Batara Siwa to descend into the water-vessel and into his body. He stretches his hands over the incense smoke, uncovers the tray in front of him, and mumbles the *mantra asta mantra*, the hand-cleansing formula, rubs the palms of his hands with a flower and sandalwood powder, "wiping out impurity," and recites a formula for each finger as it is passed over the palm of each hand, taking flowers which he holds over the incense smoke

[8] These are the attributes of the *pedanda siwa*; the *pedanda bodda*'s holy water vessel is called *pamandiyanga*, and in place of flowers for praying he uses a "thunderbolt," a *badjra* of bronze identical with those used by the Tibetan lamas and the priests of the Shingon Buddhist sect of Japan. He has a sort of banner on a stand made of bronze which is turned successively to the four winds during the course of the ceremony. The *pedanda bodda* wears his hair loose and remains throughout the service with his head uncovered.

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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A baby of Den Pasar

[P. 406 (X)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Watching a play

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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A proud grandfather

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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[516]

ABOVE: Three generations

BELOW: Three men from the mountains

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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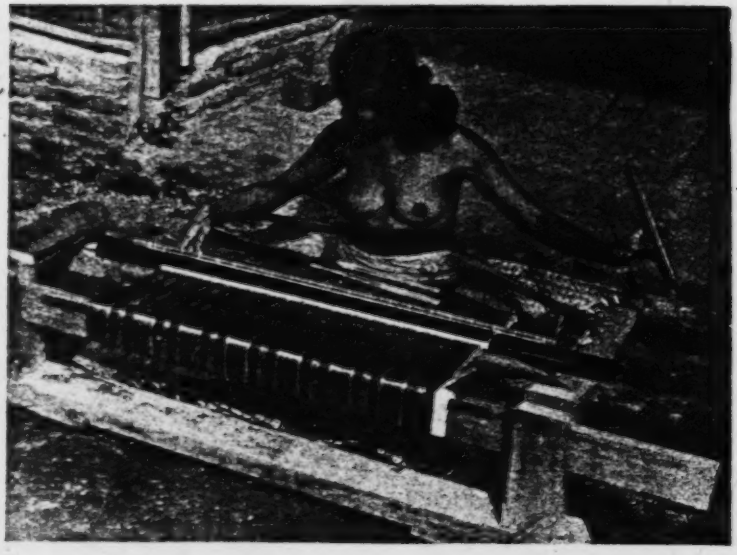

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ABOVE: A noblewoman at her loom

BELOW: For banquets men prepare quantities of saté, turtle meat en brochette, broiled over a bed of hot coals

[P. 406 (~~XXIV~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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[415]

The old and the young sell their wares side by side
At noon the market is at its height

[P. 406 (~~XXVII~~)]

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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Preparing for the cockfight: tying on the steel spurs; the owners of the cocks

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

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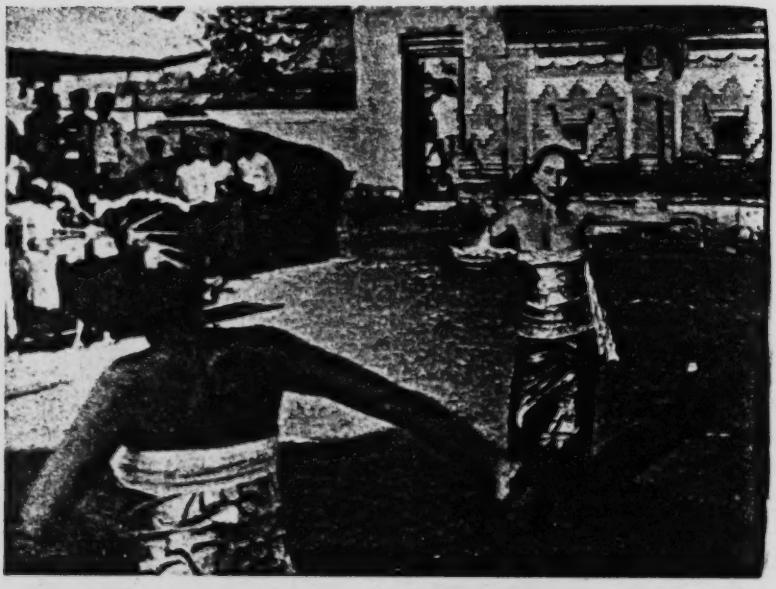

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ABOVE: *Mendet* in Sayan, an offering dance of the married women

BELOW: Noble girls of Gelgel making their prayers with flowers

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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The mythical jungle beast, the *barong*, prays for victory against the dread witch Rangda, while the *pemangku*, holding a flower between his fingertips, assists him in his exhortations. Below, the *barong* addresses his assistants before they go into a trance to fight Rangda

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
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787
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The barong's followers are about to enter into the trance

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE II

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(a) Women make offerings of flowers and palm-leaf

(b) Men prepare the meat offerings: a pig for roasting

(c) Offerings of cakes in an endless variety of designs

[opp. p. 17]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

PLATE IV

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The priest, the *pemangkoe dèsa*

[opp. p. 33]

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

796*
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The *gamelan* orchestra plays throughout the three days of the festival

[opp. p. 64]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER THREE

Ceremonial Appearances of Rangda and Barong

Village temples in Bali are linked together in a given area by hereditary ties or because of allegiance to a princely house or to that of a Brahmana high priest. Thus to a head temple on the day of its yearly festival will come the members and the priests from a number of tributary temples round about, bearing their gods in procession, accompanied by their *gamelan* orchestras, with spears and banners and all ceremonial regalia, and bringing also the Barong and the Rangda. To the great temple Poera Panataran at Kesiman (in the vicinity of Den Pasar, Badoeng District) there come year after year as many as a dozen Barongs with Rangdas, and with them their "followers," who customarily go into trance, draw krisses, and stab themselves (*ngoerek*) as a part of the manifestation of the power of their masked figures. At times informants will explain to Europeans that this is a "battle of the witches," that they are matching their power. Actually there is no encounter between the witches.

A film record of one of these ceremonial occasions at Kesiman shows a curious division in the behavior of the entranced followers which I want to point out here, for it throws light on the attitudes of some of the subjects we were able to study more intimately and in greater detail. Briefly stated, it is that while some of the temple members wear (Balinese say *njaloek*, more literally "bear") the masks and very often go into trance in their roles, and while other temple members seize a kris and begin to stab themselves in trance, among the entranced are some who take instead the characteristic Rangda attitudes, the arms extended and the fingers abducted (*kapar*, the "startle pose"), bending backward and forward from the waist and emitting the characteristic Rangda sounds, "Wha! Wha!"—long drawn out yowls of horrific glee; these last are said to be entered by the god of the Rangda, though it is not their ceremonial function at the moment to impersonate her. It appears also that these characteristic sets of patterned trance behavior may be used alternatively by both sexes, and may constitute a formalized track for crossing sex lines. Rangda is, in my experience, always played by a man. In the formal Barong play, men draw krisses and attack the Witch; then, overcome by her power, they turn the krisses on themselves. Women,

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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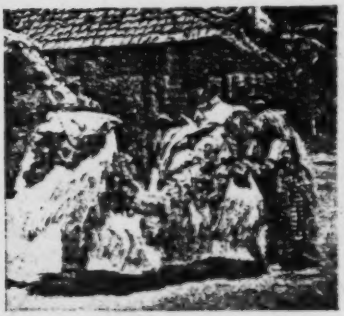

Battle between Barong and Rangda.

Rangda and her pupils, minor witches.

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Barong dancing to revive the fallen trancers. The priest is sprinkling them with holy water. (*Photos Gregory Bateson*)

[End Plate 7, following P. 62]

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

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[516]

A trancer pressing the *kris* against his own breast.

[193]

Priest attempting to bring trancer under control. (*Photos author.*)

[End plate 8, following P. 62]

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

A study of customs pertaining to Twins in Bali

by

JANE BELO.

Part I

Description of the Ritual at Sukawană, District of Kintamani, Bali.

On the night of September 18, 1933, twins were born to a woman of Sukawană. When the family saw that the twins were a boy and a girl, they knew that this was a great wrong, that disaster had come upon their house and upon their village.

A brother of the father ran to the open place before the Balé Agung, the village temple. There he beat upon the *kul-kul*, the hollow wooden alarm, so that all the men of the village would come together to hear the direful news. And the sleeping villagers awoke in their tiny houses still warm with the dying coals of the evening fire, and came forth wrapped in their blankets, for at night it is bitter cold on the slopes of the Gunung Pĕnulisan.

One by one they approached and took their places in the Balé Sĕkăhă, the meeting place of the men. The ancient men, two Kĕbayan and four Bau, priests and rulers of the village, sat cross-legged on the South East side of the platform, for that is *kajă* and *luanang* in Sukawană, the direction of the mountains, the abode of the gods, and the highest place. When it was known that Ni Jungir had given birth to twins, of which one was a boy and one a girl, the ancient men said, "that is *manak salah*", that is to have children in a wrong way. And it was

5: Belo E-5 (1931-1934)1935 OF7 Bali OF7

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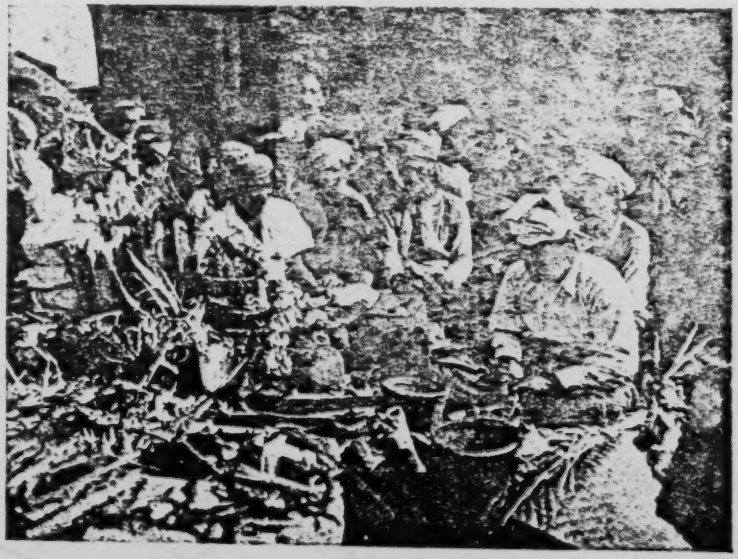
Photo Walter Spies.

5. *At the small kubu. The balian dedicates the offerings „karangan manchălimă".*



[415]

Photo Walter Spies.

6. *Offerings to the bad spirits on the site of the house. The sĕngguhu in the foreground: behind him the balian and two kĕbayan's.*

[p. 498(A)]

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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through them, may be of interest because of the foreignness of the setting, of the society in which they are made. My method will consist in an enumeration of a series of patterns of behavior, beginning with the simplest, which give to the outsider his initial impression. The simplest passages of behavior differ from our own no less than do the highly complex thought mechanisms, so closely interlocked with them. Ordinary behavior, the way of walking, of sitting, of greeting acquaintances, of taking nourishment, speech-habits, gesture, and facial expression, all these differ from our own, and all are founded not only on the way of life, but on the people's conception of it, and of the place of the individual in relation to it. And conversely, the higher concepts are built up out of component units, the simpler habits of ordinary behavior. In a discussion of the Balinese temper we shall have to consider both phases, and we shall find them often interdependent and inseparable.

Bearing and Pace

To a Westerner, the most striking characteristic in the ordinary behavior of a Balinese is the absolute poise and balance of his bearing, noticeable in his posture, his walk, his slightest gesture. All mature men and women have this poise, and even the small children develop it with remarkable rapidity. Almost never does one see a stooped or curving back even among the old people, and clumsiness and lack of coördination are rare. The impression is that of a nation favored with an unusually fine physique, with natural dignity and ease in every motion. But together with the impression of ease, one remarks a sort of *carefulness* in the bearing, as if each foot were placed in its appointed place, each turn of the head or flick of the wrist calculated not to disturb an equilibrium delicately set up, and hanging somewhere unseen within the individual. One learns that the Balinese is never unconscious of his position in space, in relation to *kadja*,[1] North, which is the direction of the mountains, and *kelod*, South, the direction of the sea; and in relation to his position above the ground, which should not be higher than that of his social superiors.

[1] The mountains which form the central part of the island are conceived as the abode of the gods, and the highest and most holy place. The sea is by contrast the lowest place, and although there is also a god of the sea, the sea and the seashore are conceived as unholy, and all that is filthy must be cast there, or into the rivers which carry their own filth down to the sea. As the present observations were made in South Bali, for the sake of convenience *kadja* is translated North and *kelod* South. On the other side of the mountains, in North Bali, *kadja* means South, and *kelod* North, since the relative position of the inhabitants to the mountains is reversed. *Kangin*, East, and *kaoeh*, West, remain the same in both localities.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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mine visited the temple on that day, accompanied by his two wives and two children, approximately eight and ten years old. All carried offerings and supplies of food and betel for the journey, but no member of the little group could be said to be heavily laden. They started "in the hour before dawn," which would be about five o'clock in the morning. When I arrived at the temple by motor they were seated outside taking their meal, having already made their prayers and presented their offerings. Shortly afterward they must have started homeward, for I passed them on my return, proceeding at an even steady pace along the road. At half-past three in the afternoon they reached home, apparently not the least exhausted by their walk of over fifty miles, as registered on the speedometer of my car. Even if one assumes that they spent only half-an-hour at the temple, they covered the fifty miles in ten hours, averaging certainly no less than five miles an hour. The road led up and down over several steep hills, and at least half of the way through arid fields, with no tree to give shade. This family, whose expedition I was able to time, was only one of hundreds visiting the temple on that day, and their excursion was in no sense unusual.

Physical Exertion and Well-Being

A great part of the land lying between the high mountain district and the shore is formed in longitudinal ridges which run parallel to each other, and no great distance apart. Between these ridges are the steep-walled ravines, where the rivers flow, and where are found most of the drinking and bathing springs. Villages are apt to be placed on the high ground, so that in inter-village traffic, walkers going North and South follow an easy up or down grade along the top of the ridge. But a person travelling East and West finds many a steep climb and precipitous descent along his path. Every member of the family is accustomed to go down at least once a day to the river or the bathing-place for his bath, and many must climb up and down several times in a day—the women and girls carrying water for household needs, the men going to and fro in their work in the steeply terraced rice-fields, the small boys escorting their special charges, the ducks and the water buffalo, down from the dry ground for their daily immersion. Mothers carry babies on their hips, at the same time balancing a forty-pound jar of water on their heads, yet never do they waver in their erect posture nor vary their slow even pace on the steep and often slippery incline. Little girls of five

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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remained unconscious for an hour and twenty minutes. His relatives showed great concern, and exerted themselves tirelessly to bring him to, blowing in his ears and eyes, rubbing his feet and hands, going to fetch arak and hot peppers which they put down his nostrils. But when at last he had regained consciousness they insisted that he should walk home, a distance of half a mile or more, and refused either to allow him to be carried or to remain in a strange house. The best thing was for him to walk home as if nothing had happened. On another occasion a woman was found unconscious in a field, knocked in the head with an axe. When she had been brought to and her wound attended, she was forced to attempt to walk the hundred yards to her house, although she was a tiny thing and her husband or any one of the men present could have carried her with ease. They did support her under the arms, and on arrival at the house, lift her onto her bamboo couch. But no matter how weak, she was not to be carried home like a corpse.

Orientation in Space

The question of position is so significant to the Balinese because of their acute consciousness of their position in relation to the surrounding space of their world. There are three ways for a man to be: erect (standing or "going"); seated (sitting or squatting); and recumbent (the words for sleeping and lying down are the same). Even children never stand on their heads nor turn somersaults. There is felt to be something wrong about the inverted position, with the head where the feet ought to be; and one of the best-known demons, who is pictured on the astrological calendar standing on his hands, is called Kala Soengsang, to be translated Demon Upside-down. Babies are never seen to crawl—they are held or carried until old enough to stand on their two feet. Only animals walk on all fours. I have spoken elsewhere of an incest punishment in which the offending pair are forced to crawl on all fours to a pigs' drinking trough.[2] To fall down is considered an unlucky sign, a presage that worse things may happen, occasioned by the evil forces which are only "trying their strength" in causing the harmless fall. When one of the members of my household fell and broke her arm, the entire group seemed more concerned over the fact that she had fallen than over the actual injury. They said that several of them had fallen,

[2] See the author's paper, "On Rites and Customs Connected with the Birth of Twins in Bali," in the *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal, Land & Volkenkunde*, Batavia, 1935.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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752 516 that now things were getting worse, and that the place should by all means be purified by a great *metjaroe* ceremony, to drive away the demons and bad spirits who were growing bolder. Falling is a shock which upsets the nice balance of well-being, just as the feeling of a rush of blood to the head in an inverted position is uncomfortable, and must therefore be wrong.[25] Fathers and grandfathers who hold 855 154 their young children in their laps for hours at a time never swing them about nor cast them in the air as ours are apt to do. Men and 861 516 women will always endeavor to keep their erect posture, their even pace, their absolute balance, regardless of obstacles in the way, and to cultivate this tendency in the child. White men who scamper down a hillside, in excess of good spirits and momentum, or who leap over a stream, will always evoke laughter in the Balinese who walks [481] sedately on, stepping into the water as if it did not exist, so long as the even measure of his gait is not interrupted. Because his feet are bare and the water warm, there would seem to be no reason to exert himself to jump over the stream. If it were not that the Balinese never jump, one would say that their habits are only better adjusted than ours to a climate uniformly hot, where it is better to conserve 154 one's energy for those exertions required in the daily work. But the systematic avoidance of all shocks and pains and disturbances of the circulation of the blood characteristic of all adult Balinese would indicate that a more specialized consciousness of the body is involved. 293 And this theory is supported by the fact that the average Balinese, although he has plentiful supplies of distilled arak and palm-wine, does not like to get drunk. The feeling of confusion, the lack of his usual surefootedness and sense of equilibrium, are so unpleasant to him that he does not often risk the experience. And the whirling of the universe which precedes nausea is positively terrifying. Then he is indeed *lost*.

Malay people have a term for the sensation of being lost, *keliru*. 181 In the Balinese language the word is *paling*. To be *paling*, they say, 823 is "not to know where North is"; in other words, he is *paling* who has lost his sense of direction, or who has lost the sense of his own position in relation to the geography of his world. One man whom I knew was taken for a trip in a motor car. He fell asleep during the

[25] The Balinese do not express in words the idea that to upset balance is wrong, but they do express it in their affective response. A look of pain, of fear, or of anxiety appears on the face of an adult who tumbles, or of a child who is held [152] upside down, which far surpasses in feeling the response we should expect, and is comparable only to the responses called out by other "wrongs" against the social and religious laws.

6: Belo E-5 (1931-1934) 1935
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857 consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with
858 the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and
823 "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

823 Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in
513 North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the
[164] Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

829 By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which
576 "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard
342 of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation
867 of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

593 In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrange-
596 ment of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether
574 or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a
[585] wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest
793 pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the
594 men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women
554 of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for
565 the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs
[516] were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

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576 way of life, their social and religious concepts, which hold them to a rigid pattern of what is fitting. In the use of language, as in other 576 matters, definite and complex rules must be followed. The Balinese 191 language, rich in terms with minutely differentiated meanings, is 564 also stratified into words of all levels, which may be roughly subdivided into High and Low Balinese. Low Balinese is the familiar and current language, used between members of a family and to all friends and intimates, except when there is a disparity of caste between the speakers. A man of low caste must address his social superior in High Balinese, and he will be answered in Low. The matter is further complicated when a man of intermediate caste is being discussed, for the commoner must choose a word in referring to him neither so low as to be insulting to the ears of the noble he is addressing, nor so high as to be discourteous, for the very highest words should be reserved for reference to the noble himself.[8] Special words are to be used only in reference to animals, and to apply one of these lowest words to a man constitutes an unforgiveable insult. Strangers who meet address each other in High Balinese, asking "Whence do you come? Where are you going?," and follow this immediately with a leading question designed to discover the rank of the interlocutor, so that the language appropriate to him may be at once adopted. There is no "farewell" in the language. Visitors must ask their host's permission to depart, and the answer to this request may be either the common "yes," a dismissal, or a choice of a polite word for "go," carrying a courteous inflection because of the relative highness of the word used.

576 Less complex, but equally rigid, rules prescribe the actual way of 516 sitting. Both men and women habitually squat on their heels, and this is the position most readily assumed when anyone stops for a moment what he is doing, either for conversation or for a short rest from hard labor (and it may be noted in passing that the Balinese [461] seem to take, automatically, a rest of five or ten minutes out of every hour of hard work; look at any ten men at work in the sun, and two will be sitting under a tree; half an hour later, two others will be resting). The squatting position may also be held over long periods, in the fulfillment of any task conveniently done on or near the ground, such as the playing of certain musical instruments, or the chopping and hashing of foodstuffs on a wooden block, in prepara-

[171] [8] It is as if we were to choose between the expressions "he has eaten," "he has dined," and "he has partaken of his repast."

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tion for a feast. In taking the position the Balinese, be he a man of eighty or a child of eight, lowers himself with the back held straight, at the same time pulling the loin-cloth with his two hands tight over the thighs, so that the folds will not hang and expose him indecently. Women are of course, equally modest, and the little girls learn this trick earlier than the boys, for they are generally given a strip of cloth to wrap around them at the age of four or five, whereas the boys run naked several years longer.

Women sit with their legs bent back from the knees, both legs to one side. They may not take the crosslegged position which is proper for the men. A high priest, who has a right to the place of honor, will on entering a European house choose not the most softly cushioned, but the highest chair, and he will cross his legs upon the seat of it. Certain ascetics of noble caste, who have bound themselves to strict rules of behavior, may not sit down to eat facing in any direction except North or East. In the palaces of the nobility men of humble rank may sit or squat, but they are not allowed to stand or walk while a prince is seated. When they have to move about, fulfilling orders, they advance in a half-crouching position. So strongly felt is the matter of relative height that a man may ask one's permission before venturing to climb up a coconut tree to bring one refreshment.

The Balinese prefer to eat alone, and it is forbidden to speak to anyone who is eating. To speak to him would anger the god that is in him.[7] In some villages there used to be a fine imposed on any man who entered another's house and disturbed him while he was eating. Of this fine part was paid directly to the affronted person, part to the community, in compensation for disturbing the peace. Within the household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own pleasure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.[8] It is only proper to take food in the right hand while eating, although of course both hands are used in the preparation of it. Along the roads, at the markets, and at all performances are little stalls where refreshments are sold. But I have known several Balinese who said it was improper to eat in the street, and that they were "too ashamed" to do it.

[7] Here again, indigestion as a disturbance of bodily well-being is to be feared and avoided.

[8] In my own house I often surprised a boy or girl crouching alone in a dark cupboard absorbing the allotted plateful of rice, while a merry group who were not at the moment eating sat chatting without.